1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

PREFACE

THE term Bella Coola can be applied to the Indians who formerly occupied more than twenty villages on the lower Bella Coola River in central British Columbia, to their near kinsfolk on the Kimsquit River, and to those living at the head of South Bentinck Arm. Disease and changed conditions consequent upon the coming of the white man have so reduced their numbers that the last two groups of settlements have been virtually abandoned, while only one village remains in the Bella Coola valley. This is located on a reserve near the mouth of the river, and its four hundred inhabitants comprise practically all the survivors of what was once a tribe of several thousand people, with a distinctive language and culture of their own.

The material contained in this monograph was collected in this one village many years ago for the National Museum of Canada.[1] I was in the field during two periods that extended from March to August, 1922, and from September, 1923, to February, 1924. My field notes were worked up and the completed manuscript submitted to the Museum in 1926. Since that time it has suffered various vicissitudes. Recommended for publication by the Chief of the Anthropological Division, it passed through the hands of various editors; questions were raised about its size and the suitability of detailed studies of social anthropology in a government publication, and by the time these matters were adjusted, funds for extensive publications were unavailable and the manuscript was put aside. Since the aim of the investigation was to record, as far as possible, the sum-total of the complex and interwoven social life of the Bella Coola, I did not think it desirable to prepare short articles[2] summarizing different aspects, preferring to await an

[1] Then the Victoria Memorial Museum.

[2] The only exception was a short article on Bella Coola supernatural animals published in the Ontario Annual Archaeological Report for 1924-25, pp. 17-27.

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opportunity for the publication of the manuscript as a whole. I am deeply grateful to the Canadian Social Science Research Council for making this possible, and to their anonymous readers, many of whose suggestions I have utilized in the final draft, and to the University of Toronto Press for their subsidization.

Though the lapse of time between the field investigation and the appearance in print of the results is unfortunate, it is a matter of less importance than would be the case in other branches of science. To the student of social institutions, the significant fact is that a certain group of *homo sapiens* has practised certain customs, whether in 1922 or 1948 is immaterial. Furthermore, the aim of the investigation was to collect information on Bella Coola life as it was *before* the breakdown of their own culture, and for this, data collected between 1922 and 1924 are more valuable than those acquired today. The manuscript was prepared from my extensive field notes, when the material was still fresh in my mind, and, with the exception of this preface and a few minor changes in editing,[1] is presented as it was written in 1924-26.

When studying the Bella Coola, I was definitely under the influence of the English school of anthropologists. To Haddon, Rivers, and Seligman, to name the outstanding English field anthropologists of their generation, the study of a native tribe meant an expedition to some far-off corner of the world, to a people about whom little was known. A return visit was improbable; aboriginal customs were passing away, hence it was the duty of the field investigator to learn and to record every scrap of information. I remember Dr. Haddon's insistence that it might be some trivial detail which would throw light on culture distribution, and hence, perhaps, aid in the reconstruction of tribal or racial movements, or in theoretical studies of the development or degeneration of institutions. Characteristic of this school, too, was an intense human interest in field

[1] Especially in changing the number of years which has elapsed since various incidents took place.

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
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work. To overcome the difficulties of language, of suspicion, and of native reticence was a task in itself. And only when this was accomplished and the investigator recognized as a friend, could the information be obtained upon which the investigator was to describe "his people." As a broad generalization, the attitude of American anthropologists to field work in America is very different. Indians live near at hand; well-educated interpreters and informants are usually available; there is no thought of gleaning information from suspicious natives at the ends of the earth; and, perhaps most important of all, so much of Indian life has disappeared that the American anthropologist must learn by interview and question, rather than by observation and participation. The American school has tended to return repeatedly, often for short periods, to a small group or even to a single informant, and to publish intensive studies of aspects of culture with which the investigator is concerned.

Both approaches have their advantages. Anthropologically, using that term in its broadest sense, American Indians are better known than the natives of other continents; the professional anthropologist knows where to find detailed studies in technical journals and government publications, and to combine them if he wishes to know the life of a people as a whole. But to the anthropologist who is not a specialist in America, as well as to scholars in other social sciences, this lack of synthesis is a definite deterrent, and it may well be asked whether the anthropologist has played his part in making known the results of his branch to workers in cognate fields. It was this which led R. H. Lowie to publish his *Crow Indians*,[4] and though the author reiterates that the volume contains little that he had not made known in earlier writings[5] in anthropological journals, it is safe to say that the *Crow Indians* will be read, quoted, and used when other reports on which it is based have been forgotten.

[4] New York: 1935.
[5] *Id.*, p. xi.

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If I were to investigate and report on the Bella Coola at the present time, I would undoubtedly be influenced by many years of contact with American anthropologists and their work. I would assume a greater knowledge of North-West coast institutions, less interest in the details of ceremonial rites, and it would be impossible not to avoid comparisons with, and observations upon, the theoretical implications of many of the facts recorded. But though every field investigator is strictly objective as to the facts he collects, yet his interests, and his method of presenting them, are coloured by his background; in my case, by the older school of English anthropology. On the whole, I think this is fortunate. It means that the Bella Coola are portrayed as I saw them when I came fresh to a new field, practically uninfluenced by problems of North-West coast culture, and fully prepared to throw myself into their life. They were "my people," not a group in which I was interested because they had, or had not, certain culture traits with which I was concerned. In the course of my teaching experience, furthermore, I have wished repeatedly to give serious students detailed field monographs in which are recorded the interwoven social, religious, and folk-lore concepts of a people, the sum-total of their mental life, collected by one man at one time. This I have tried to do for the Bella Coola.

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[115]
Following the English tradition, I wish to record how this material was collected. Before leaving for British Columbia, I was advised by the late H. I. Smith, who had worked in the area, to talk to Joshua Moody (see Plate 2), an elderly Bella Coola Indian with whom Smith had worked. On explaining to Joshua that I had come to record in permanent form the traditions and lore of *his* people, Joshua grinned broadly and promised his help. Unfortunately, he spoke only a few words of English. I tried interpreter after interpreter, Indian and white, with only fair success, and my difficulties increased with the opening of the canning season and the consequent employment of the younger men and women. I was urged to learn the Chinook jargon, which serves widely as a *lingua franca* on the

[464]
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A: McDougall E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

CHAPTER IV

GAMES

517 [177] THE subject of games, lying on the border-line of social customs, was one which was not fully investigated. The Bella Coola, like all other peoples, have a number of sports and pastimes and although the old diversions are being forgotten by the younger people, many of the old men and women are familiar with those played in their youth. As isolated customs these may be of small value, but games of all kinds often preserve ancient practices and, as providing useful clues to the spread of peoples or of culture, are worthy of investigation. Unfortunately, lack of time made it impossible to give the subject the attention it deserved, and the few games here described must not be considered an exhaustive treatment of the subject.

526 [171] [628] Though less fond of competitive sports than the Indians of the Plains, the Bella Coola enjoy canoe-racing and wrestling. The former appears to have been an ancient diversion; picked crews from different villages competed amid the encouraging shouts of their fellows, and even now the younger men are anxious to display their skill in this respect. Wrestling, which [177] used to be common during all non-sacred gatherings, has almost entirely disappeared since the prohibition of the potlatch.

538 [517] The favourite sedentary pastime, enjoyed equally by young and old, is the telling of stories. Those of a sacred nature, especially ancestral myths, are reserved of course for ceremonial occasions, but the older men and women remember [825] many tales describing the exploits of birds and animals which are recounted again and again to the enjoyment of the listeners, although they may have heard the same recital fifty times. Children enjoy the companionship of some old story-teller and it is a common sight to see an old man or woman, surrounded by an eager group, explaining once more how Raven outwitted his rivals or was himself led into difficulties. Many of these [867] stories are somewhat indecent; others appear brutally frank,

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

APPENDIX A

MECHANICAL PROCESSES

NO attempt was made to study either the material culture of the Bella Coola, or their methods of manufacturing, but information on some points was obtained incidentally. All sociological and religious features connected therewith have already been described.

THE TAKING AND PREPARATION OF OLACHEN

The run of olachen, *cpaiy*, comes about the end of April, and as many as possible are caught. In preparation, nets, *ăle'a*", are brought out from the houses where they have been stored during the winter, examined, and repaired. If necessary, new ones must be manufactured out of nettle-(*lima.*) fibre laid away by the women for this purpose. By rolling the material on their legs, they produce a thin twine; five strands of this are then interwoven, making a finished cord capable of resisting great strain. The nets are constructed by the men. The type used at the present time, which is said not to differ from that formerly employed, consists of a purse-like sack, oval in cross-section, open at the wider end and tapering very gradually to the other, which is closed. The total length is about thirty feet, the diameter at the open end about eight feet, and at the closed end about three feet. A new net is dipped in a mixture of boiled hemlock-bark to darken it, and then boiled in a solution of willow-bark to prevent the knots from slipping.

The setting out of a net is not an easy task, so two or three men agree to work as partners. In the present degenerate days, property rights are not respected and each group selects a suitable spot. The best location is where the water is about three feet deep and runs rapidly, but without ripples, over a smooth piece of the bottom; such a place is called a *skilăy*. When the fish begin to run plentifully, the partners paddle out to set their net, taking with them four stakes, each about ten feet in length. The weight of a full net is tremendous, so the poles have to be driven down at least six feet, a difficult task on account of the stony bottom. Selecting the exact spot, one of four posts, *ălkdjălos*, is set upright and held in position by being tied to a cross-piece, *nudjiqosta*, fastened to the canoe for the purpose. While his two partners hold the craft steady, the third man begins to pound down the stake; metal mauls are now commonly used, but in former times this work was always done with an unhafted stone maul, *luxwoma*. The fishermen relieve one another intermittently until the top of the pole has been driven down to within

2:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NEA Bellacoola NEA

APPENDIX 8

STRING FIGURES

THE only form of pastime which it was practical to investigate in any detail was the construction of string figures. These seem to have no ceremonial or religious significance; they are made for recreation only, and it was found easy to learn a number while paving the way for other kinds of research. In fact, interest in them was one of the ways in which the writer became friends with a number of Bella Coola. As is to be expected, some individuals are more proficient in constructing complicated string figures than others, the old women being particularly adept. During the long delays which occur in all the dances it is a common sight to see an old crone teaching a group of young girls the figures which she herself learnt when young. Some men remember a number from childhood, but the making of designs with string is regarded as more fitting for girls and women. Songs accompany many of the figures, and the singing of these is considered an essential part of the construction. It was evident that many more figures were known long ago; in fact, several of those here recorded were only obtained after repeated efforts on the part of an old woman to reconstruct those which she had been shown when a child. No attempt was made to learn all the Bella Coola figures; a larger number could doubtless have been collected, but those here described are the ones most commonly made.

The nomenclature used is that described by Miss Haddon,[1] in itself following the method used by Rivers and Haddon. It will be assumed that the reader is familiar with this, including the meaning of the terms, "Opening A," "Position 1," and "Navaho." A string about four feet long will be found most convenient for making the Bella Coola figures.

1. A SALMON-TRAP

Double the loop; two strands now take the place of the usual one, but these will be referred to as a single string or loop. The figure can be made equally well with a string one-half the usual length.

Place string as a simple loop over left thumb and index finger and the right hand.

With right index finger hook down the string passing dorsally across left thumb and index finger and draw out to right, allowing right hand loop to slip over this hooked-down string.

[1] K. Haddon, *Cat's Cradles from Many Lands* (London, 1911).

S. Smith - E-1 (1920-1923) 1925
NAA Bellacoola MSS

are apparently more recent comers to the coast than their neighbors and have not fully adopted the coast culture.

The following examples of sympathetic magic and witchcraft, collected during 1920 to 1923 among the Bellacoola, illustrate the extent of their belief in this direction.

Most of this information was given me by the late Captain Schooner, born about 1840, and Joshua Moody, born about 1860; both apparently full-blood Bellacoola Indians. Neither of them spoke English and both gave me the data in Chinook jargon, which I have endeavored to interpret and arrange in logical order, but have tried to render in as nearly as possible the Indian mode of thought, feeling and expression. Schooner was a pagan gentleman. Joshua has great knowledge of plants and animals, and is a Bellacoola scientist, but his great ambition and jealousy, combined with his disloyalty in giving up his own people's customs and adopting a very thin veneer of Christianity, color his statements relating to beliefs, although his plant and animal data have always withstood cross examination and comparison with the data supplied by other Indians. Mr. Davis and Mrs. Willie Mack told of the trail. They do not talk English and spoke to me in Chinook jargon. Only the accounts about the grizzly bear skin and the bracelet of beaver skin, which were given me by Mrs. Stanleigh, were told in English.

The material was not given as accounts of magic or witchcraft, but rather as part of the data regarding the properties of plants and animals of which I was endeavoring to collect as complete information as possible.

Joshua, who is even younger than Captain Schooner, remembers the time when Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in the Bella Coola valley, and when they saw only one other white man every year or two. Consequently these men remember the old Bellacoola beliefs before they were much, if at all, affected by European ideas.

It will be noticed that magic among the Bellacoola is considered of use both for beneficial and injurious purposes, and that the materials giving effect to it are of both plant and animal origin.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

NOTES ON THE INDIANS OF THE BELLA COOLA AND NEIGHBOURING TRIBES OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

By Harlan I. Smith

INTRODUCTION

The area [illegible] the eastern [illegible] of [illegible] Columbia, the Bella Coola or Bella Coola valley, the Kitlope [illegible] the Gardner canal, the Kwakiutl who live in the country [illegible] both of these valleys, and the Nootka of the [illegible] of Dean river. Among the Bella Coola the [illegible] are largely family possessions known to a few individuals only, so that one [illegible] may have different [illegible] for the same specific [illegible], but this is not the case among the other tribes. Exception [illegible] material [illegible] which [illegible] into the treatment of [illegible], has [illegible] upon [illegible] in this report. It was impossible for the Indians to diagnose many of their [illegible], so that the identifications given here are in many cases [illegible].

Most of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in [illegible] by Julius Stuart, apparently a full-blood Bella Coola Indian, born about 1858. As he did not speak English he gave the data in Chinook jargon, which has been interpreted and [illegible] in broad [illegible]. Julius is an Indian [illegible] with great knowledge of the local chiefs and [illegible]. His connection with Mr. John Clayton was the only white man living in Bella Coola valley, and when the inhabitants are only one other white man [illegible] in the [illegible]. Consequently he [illegible] the old Bella Coola material [illegible] [illegible] by [illegible] ideas.

Some of the information relating to the Bella Coola was given the writer in [illegible] by the late Captain Johnson, also apparently a full-blood, [illegible] about 1858, who used the Chinook jargon. Mrs. Dixon, [illegible] Clayton, Louis Hall, and other Bella Coola Indians likewise gave information and corroboration.

Most of the information relating to the Southern [illegible] Indians of Alaska was secured during [illegible] from Charlie Wren, also known as Charlie or Hootchoo Charlie, a native of that place, born about 1871. Charlie used the peculiar form of broken or pidgin English commonly employed for communication between the whites and the Tlingit and Athapascan Indians of the region.

The information about the Sikani and the Northern Carrier of Stuart [illegible] from [illegible] was kindly supplied by Mr. D. Jenness.

The information relating to the Gitksan was secured in Hazelton from the late John Peters and Abraham Peters of Kitwancool, John Peters and Bob Robinson of Hazelton, with additions and corroboration from a few others, all the Gitksan Indians apparently fullblood. The information was secured mainly in English, although Abraham Peters used also the Chinook jargon.

The method the writer employed was to submit specimens of the dress to the informants and question them concerning all their uses. All the information thus obtained only the material portion has been recorded here. The photographs were kindly [illegible] by Mr. H. O. Wales, of the National Museum, Ottawa.

[illegible]

I.

The Bella Coola are a small tribe inhabiting the coast of Dean Inlet and Bentinck Arm, two long and narrow fiords situated in about latitude 52° north, in British Columbia. Their habitat extends along Bella Coola River, which empties into North Bentinck Arm. The name "Bella Coola" is a corruption of the word "Nuxalk," by which name the tribe is known to the Kwakiutl. There is no term in their own language embracing all the tribes speaking the Bella Coola language. It seems that at a former time the tribe was quite populous; but, owing to various epidemics and the introduction of other diseases, its numbers have dwindled down, so that at the present time it has been reduced to only a few hundred souls. The language spoken by the tribe belongs to the Salishan family, more particularly to the group of dialects spoken along the coast of Oregon, Washington, and British Columbia. The great similarity between the Bella Coola and the other Coast-Salishan dialects leads us to assume that at one time the tribes speaking these dialects inhabited contiguous areas. At the present time the Bella Coola are separated from other tribes speaking Salishan languages by a considerable stretch of country, which is inhabited by tribes of Athapascan and Kwakiutl lineage. Vocabulary and grammar have been greatly modified, particularly by an extensive choice of words. The relation of their language to the other dialects of the Coast Salish is similar to that of the Chinook, another language belonging to the Salishan family, which is spoken on the coast of Oregon, to an area separated from the rest of the Salishan territory by the dialects inhabited by the Chinook.

Physically the Bella Coola bear evidence of long-continued contact with the southern Coast tribes, and also with the Athapascan tribes of the interior. Evidently intermarriages have been quite frequent, so much so that their present physical appearance differs considerably from that of the southern Salishan tribes, of whom they form a branch. The same is true in regard to their customs and beliefs, which differ fundamentally from those of the southern Salishan tribes.

In the present paper I shall describe the mythology of the Bella Coola, and discuss its development.

II.

Our previous knowledge of the mythology of this tribe is based on studies made by Albert Jacobsen, Philip Jacobsen, Cranbrook, and the writer. In 1895 I published a few brief notes on their traditions.[1] Cranbrook pub-

[1] Boas, "The Mythology of the Bella Coola Indians," in Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada, Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 1896, p. 43.

the middle of the water, the harnacles and worms bit her. She jumped up, and the canoe capsized. The birds swam ashore. After a short time the harnacles and sea-worms came ashore too. They looked very cruel, because they had eaten the bear. Then the youth said to the girl, "There are two trails here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. If the trails meet, we will marry; if they do not, we have separate homes." They started, and after a while met each other. Then the youth married the girl. (Hunt of the Bear, Plate X, Fig. 11.)

VI.

It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the ceremonials of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their ceremonials, and my descriptions are based on inquiries, and upon the accounts published by Dilly and Adrien Jacobsen.

The Bella Coola have two ceremonials,—the *nusq'a* and the *tsi'ots*, which correspond to the *tsa'laxa* and the *k'inalaga* of the Kwakiutl. I have described these ceremonials fully in another paper.[1] The *nusq'a* ceremonials are mostly dramatic representations illustrating the clan legends, some of which have been recorded in Chap. IV, while the *tsi'ots* ceremonials are dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into certain secret societies. Among these, the Cannibal Society, the Society of the Laughers, and the Society of the Throwers, are the most important. These are called by the Bella Coola the *sisnu'kula*, *Oba*, and *Dzila*. I described on pp. 59 ff. the spirits presiding over the two last-named societies. The information which I obtained on these points is perfectly clear and consistent. I cannot quite reconcile the explanations given by A. and F. Jacobsen to the accounts which I received. It seems that their accounts do not clearly distinguish between the opinions held by various tribes. In the article above referred to, I described fully the opinions held by the Kwakiutl in regard to the origin of their Cannibal Society. They believe that a spirit called *Baxbakualanuxsiwae* initiates the Cannibals. He is represented as having an enormous black head with dilated nostrils and huge mouth. I have made frequent inquiries among the Bella Coola, but received the uniform answer that this being does not initiate their Cannibals. It is not impossible that a few families may have adopted this tradition from the Kwakiutl tribes, but I have not been able to find it among the Bella Coola. Jacobsen maintains that *Baxbakualanuxsiwae* is the particular spirit of the Cannibal among the Bella Coola, and brings forward the well-known

[1] [illegible]

7:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1900 NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575 196 allowed to re-enter the houses; but before doing so for the first time, he must stop at the door and shout, "Wa, wa, wa!" Then he jumps over the threshold. Accompanied by many men, he is led, after four days more, to the river for final purification. He is pushed into the water, but struggles to free himself. He tries to duck his companions, and utters his cries. Finally he is led back. Then he weeps, because the spirit has left him entirely. The people beat time while he is going back to the house. Then he is offered a piece of salmon, which is placed on his throat, while the people shout, "Hoip, hoip!" The salmon is taken away again, and after some time he is allowed to take one bite. Then he must lie down. After the dancing season is ended, he is again allowed to eat in the same way as other people do. The piece of salmon that was placed on his throat is eaten by children as a protection against sickness. Finally a ceremony is performed which is called "taking the lip of the S!ā'ɬpuɬa out of the Cannibal's body." While this is being done, the people cry, "Hoip!" Then they throw the lip upon another Cannibal, who at once falls into an ecstasy. Then the shaman takes it back and throws it up towards the sky, where it disappears. The dish and the spoon that the Cannibal used during his ecstasy are destroyed. For four years he must wear a small ring of red cedar-bark, in summer as well as in winter.

The Ōx is also initiated in heaven by the being described before (p. 35). There are different traditions regarding his initiation among different clans. Some Ōx, during their performances, walk ropes which are stretched through the house. When he returns from his initiation, small whistles, called cax!laxa, which imitate the voices of eagles, are heard outside of the houses. Then the Ōx comes in a state of ecstasy, scratching the people who assemble to hold him, and tearing their blankets. Finally the people succeed in placing a blanket over his head, and he begins to come to his senses. When he enters the house, the people beat time, then he teaches the chorus-leader a song. The mask worn by the Ōx is quite large, and characterized by a large nose (Plate XII, Fig. 9). He carries a dancing-club (Plate XII, Fig. 10), and rings made of red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by two assistants, who also wear masks.

[534]

VII.

121 114 177 [112] We will now discuss the probable origin of the mythology described in the preceding pages. In order to do so, it is necessary to make a brief statement in regard to the social organization of the neighboring tribes. In another paper[1] I have fully discussed the considerable amount of borrowing that has taken place among the Coast tribes, and the relation of their

[1] Indianische Sagen von der nordpacifischen Küste Amerikas, Berlin, 1895, pp. 41 – 50.

8:Boas E-5 (1886-ca. 1890)1897
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

One of them must wash his body, one must wash his head, and the two others hold him. In return they receive one or two blankets each. During this ceremony the quqq'ē'lEn, who are described as wild men, dance around the novice. They have ropes tied around their waists, and are held by other members of the society by these ropes. Then the xEnxani'tEl lead the novice into the woods, where he remains for a long time, until he meets the spirit that initiates him. It seems that during this time he is secretly led to the house in which the xEnxani'tEl continue to celebrate festivals at the expense of the novice's father, and there he is taught the secrets of the society. During this time, until the return of the novice from the woods, the house is tabooed. A watchman is stationed at the entrance, who keeps out uninitiated persons. During the absence of the novice, his mother prepares cedar bark ornaments and weaves mountain goat blankets for his use. One afternoon he returns, and then his father gives a feast to let the people know that his child has returned. The latter performs his first dance, in which he uses masks and cedar bark ornaments. This dance is called nuxnEā'mEn. On this day the father must distribute a great number of blankets among the xEnxani'tEl. The initiated are permitted to take part in the feast, and sit on one side of the house. The new member spends all his nights in the woods, where he bathes. In the spring the new member, if a man, is thrown into the sea, and after that is free from all regulations attending the initiation. One of the principal regulations regarding novices of the xEnxani'tEl is that they must return from the woods in the direction in which the sun is moving, starting so that the sun is at their backs. Therefore they must sometimes go in roundabout ways. They must go backward through doors, which are sLā'lEqam (supernatural) against them. Frequently the sio'ua (a female shaman) is called to bespeak the door in their behalf before they pass through it. Before their dance the sio'ua must also address the earth, as it is supposed that else it might open and swallow up the dancer. It is also sLā'lEqam against the novice. The expression used is that the earth would "open its eyes" (k'u'nalaxa); that means, swallow the novice. In order to avert this danger, the sio'ua must "give a name to the earth," and strew red paint and feathers over the place where the novice is to dance.

THE BĒ'LXULA.

121 171 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bī'lxula are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch, the sisaa'k', and the kē'sīet. The sisaa'k' corresponds to the La'laxa of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the kē'sīet to the tē'tē'tsēqa. The Bī'lxula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Xē'mtsīus, to whose care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful house in the far east, and cries "ā, ā,"

556 773 776